SOCIALIST CULTURAL POLICY

Speech delivered by Comrade Kurt Hager
at the 6th Session of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Socialist cultural policy

Speech delivered by Comrade Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany at the 6th Session of the SED Central Committee on 6 and 7 July 1972.

VERLAG ZEIT IM BILD DRESDEN

Dear Comrades

After the preceding sessions the Central Committee had discussed and decided the tasks of overall social development and important socio-political measures, the sixth session will deal with problems of the further promotion of cultural life in the German Democratic Republic.

The main task of our policy decided by the Eighth Congress of the SED considers the further raising of the material and cultural living conditions of the working people as an inseparable unity. Social security and a high material standard of living as well as Socialist education, culture and art and a rich cultural life are among the goals of Socialist society. The working class inscribed this on its banner from the beginning of its struggles. In our Socialist age they are becoming reality. Through the conscious and planned construction of the developed Socialist society the people of the German Democratic Republic – under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party – creates increasingly better cultural living conditions, ever higher cultural values.

The initiatives which have determined cultural life in our republic since the Eighth Congress are manifold. Everywhere we feel the growing interest of the working people in shaping their lives culturally. This is shown by some 230,000 proposals for the improvement of cultural living conditions submitted during the trade union elections. The number of teams working according to cultural and educational plans increased to over 87 per cent of all working groups striving for the state title of Socialist Labour Team. The number of participants in enterprise festivals trebled within a

year. This rise was above all a feature of the 14th Workers' Festiva recently held in Schwerin county.

An atmosphere of learning is becoming more and more prevalent Already today the majority of workers have a skilled worker's certificate and 63.5 per cent of all agricultural workers have acquired such training. Everywhere there is a striving for high political, ideological, economic and technical education, for new knowledge and insight.

The steadily increasing number of visits to exhibitions, museums clubs and houses of culture as well as the increasing number of books lent by libraries also show growing cultural needs. One out of four citizens regularly borrows books from libraries. Last year the number of visitors to museums increased to some 20 million to clubs and houses of culture to over 35 million. The working people take more and more interest in new films made by DEFA, in television films and stage plays. The achievements scored during the International Book Year are remarkable.

Everyone can feel how the spirit of Socialist internationalism has become more profound in our cultural life since the Eighth Congress. This is evidenced by the German-Soviet Youth Festival, by the preparation for the days of Soviet theatrical art and by the many cultural experiences millions of citizens of our republic had during their visits to the Polish People's Republic, to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other Socialist countries.

Our cultural life is unthinkable without the Socialist culture of the Soviet people who will this year celebrate the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It enriches us and shows us the many important cultural and artistic achievements scored in Socialist society and in the construction of Communism.

The results of cultural development reflect the continuity of the cultural policy pursued by our party. At the Eighth Congress our party clearly showed that continuity and change, that is higher development in the sense of Socialism, do not exclude one another, but are a basic feature of Marxist-Leninist policy. The time which has elapsed since then confirms the statement in the report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress that in our society there is a good climate for the flourishing of culture and art. It is

impossible to cite here the many new works of literature and art published since the Congress and to appreciate the creative work of individual writers and artists. The progress made in culture and art is unmistakable. In films and television, literature and music, pictorial art, in light entertainment and other fields of art and culture many noteworthy achievements have been made and there are of course also things that turned out less successfully and are questionable.

Many achievements of artists in our republic won international recognition. We are glad to congratulate Comrade Ernst Busch on the International Lenin Peace Prize. This highest international decoration appreciates the merits of a great artist, his militant life and work and is at the same time a great honour for our Socialist state.

Comrade Anna Seghers and the team of creators of the films "Goya" and "KLK to PTX – The Red Orchestra" were awarded the National Prize, First Class. Moreover, national prizes and other high prizes and awards were conferred upon further collectives of artists and individuals.

We are glad that important works of art and renowned artists of the GDR were awarded medals at international festivals and exhibitions. Seven out of 18 medals of the International Bach Competition were conferred on young artists of our republic. Since the Eighth Congress over 40 guest performances of our best theatres and orchestras and some 50 exhibitions of pictorial art have been carried out in other countries.

Since the Eighth Congress comradely relations between the working class, party and artists have been extended considerably. Everywhere we experience an open atmosphere favourable to the creation of new works of art. With great sincerity our artists submitted their problems of creative work, which are often complicated, to public discussion. The declared will of our party to do everything possible to encourage the creative power of artists is bearing rich fruit already today. Literature and art scholarship as well as criticism play an increasingly important role in the upsurge of cultural life.

Recently important contributions were made to the cultivation of the humanistic heritage. The tribute to Georg Weerth, the Shakes-

peare Days, the Handel Festival, the Bach Festival, the tribute to Cranach and other cultural events gave new impulses for making the cultural heritage one's own.

We know, of course, that changes in the cultural life of the people cannot take place overnight. Nevertheless, we can state one year after the Eighth Congress that under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party the role of the working class is gaining in importance in all spheres of social life. Through the scope and quality of its own progress it largely determines the degree of general cultural progress in our country in the field of culture, too. In this process the working class strengthens its alliance with all classes and sectors of the working people, above all with the intelligentsia.

In the process of Socialist construction the social position and the social composition of the intelligentsia has changed fundamentally. The intelligentsia is closely connected with the working class through their common basic interests. The majority of our intelligentsia came from the ranks of the working class and the class of cooperative farmers. This is also true of artists. Through their creative work they make an important contribution to the consolidation of our workers' and farmers' state and fully devote their knowledge and abilities to the people. The proven alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia, the relationship of trust and constructive cooperation among all classes and strata are among the secured positions from which the Eighth Congress could derive higher social tasks.

In an atmosphere of principled and friendly cooperation with all those who contribute to the development of Socialist art and culture in our republic we want to further strengthen our Socialist state in the field of culture, too. The goal of our cultural policy is a rich cultural and intellectual life of all citizens in our republic, the development of all creative abilities of the people, the goal is to create works of Socialist realistic art which enrich the intellectual world of workers through their popularity and partisanship, through their closeness to life and Socialist ideas.

This is at the same time a contribution to the further strengthening of the Socialist community and to the ideological struggle with imperialism. Today the humanism of Socialist culture and the decaying anti-humanistic culture of imperialism oppose each other

with all sharpness. The cultural power of Socialism, finding its highest expression in the achievements of Soviet culture, plays an increasingly important role in the struggle between Socialism and imperialism. It is therefore also the task of our cultural policy to support the political and ideological offensive of Socialism with all available cultural means.

I. The Role of Culture in the Developed Socialist Society

Dear Comrades,

When speaking of culture and cultural tasks in the developed Socialist society we do not mean some narrowly restricted field. It is a matter of the totality of living conditions, of material and intellectual values, ideas and knowledge through the acquisition of which the people—in community with others—become able, cultured and convinced builders of Socialism, genuine Socialist personalities.

Personality and Community

Lenin pointed out the social necessity "of ensuring full well-being and free, all-round development for all members of society". (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 6, p. 54) All propagandistic and ideological, all cultural and educational activity is directed to this goal. For us the fully developed Socialist personality is no distant ideal of the future, its features are developing here and now, in the daily struggle of the working class and the other working people for the fulfilment of the manifold tasks during the process of shaping the developed Socialist society. We know, however, that we still have much to do and that we cannot consider wishful thinking as a reality. Lenin said: "Communism is advancing and must advance towards that goal and will reach it, but only after very many years." He even expressly warned against anticipating today "this future result of a fully developed, fully stabilized and constituted, fully

comprehensive and mature communism". (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 50)

The formation of fully-developed Socialist personalities is only possible in and through society, in the community, in the working group. In the report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the SED Erich Honecker said: "Socialist personalities develop in their working teams, in the struggle for highest achievements in Socialist emulation, in learning, in athletic activities, in the process of acquiring the treasures of culture, and in their participation in the process of management and planning of our society in all fields. Ideological work has a lasting influence on the development of man." (Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the SED, p. 48) The process of work and the working group are and remain the decisive sphere for the formation of Socialist personalities.

Under Socialism the interests of the individual and society are fundamentally in accord, but many problems must be solved to establish this accord continuously. There are contradictions between the rapidly growing needs of the working people and our material possibilities, between social requirements and individual wishes, between the forward-pushing spirit of innovation in the economy, in science and technology and old long-lived routines and conservatism, between knowledge, abilities and experience acquired so far and ever growing and changing demands, between still existing individualistic and egoistic views and attitudes and the new standards of Socialist community relations in the working group and family, in social organizations and personal behaviour.

The solution of these and other problems resulting from the historic degree of maturity and advance of our social life makes high demands on the competent and convincing political and ideological work of the party of the working class and the Socialist state, on Socialist leadership activity in all fields. It should not be forgotten that these new intellectual and moral values must be carried through in the struggle against "the enormous force of habit and conservatism" (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 29, p. 421), against the long-lived vestiges of capitalist society as well as against the ideological influence of the imperialist class enemy.

Real Socialist humanism and the formation of a great many free

Socialist personalities have an ever greater impact on the struggle of the peoples against imperialism. The struggle for the future and the place of man in the present-day world is increasingly becoming the centre of the ideological class struggle. Bourgeois ideologies such as social democratism try to arouse the illusion that it was possible to bring forth a new man under the outlived, anti-human conditions of imperialism. For this reason they often speak of "the citizen of age", of "human self-realization", of "equality of opportunity". In view of the continuously and obviously deepening contradiction between capital and labour, in view of the exploitation of workers to the limit of their physical and mental capacities by means of an increasingly clever system of exploitation, in face of growing social insecurity and fear of existence bourgeois and rightwing social democratic concepts of man, of the "dignity of man" and "equality of opportunity" can only have the purpose of leading workers astray and laying a smoke-screen around the imperialist system.

Reality in the imperialist countries corresponds less than ever before to the "dignity of man". Numerous examples could be cited for this, above all the criminal war of US imperialism against the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina. In the USA —the "country of unlimited opportunity", every 39 minutes an assault, every 41 seconds a car theft, every 25 seconds an ordinary theft, every 17 seconds burglary is committed. In the FRG 10,000 cases of maltreatment of children occur annually. Years ago the number of known crimes had exceeded two million.

This is a decaying society doomed to failure in which man is the enemy of man. It is therefore no coincidence that Socialism which shapes relations between people in a humanist way is gaining in importance throughout the world. Only Socialist society can guarantee the all-round development and moral value of personality.

Cultural progress is a law-governed and necessary element in the development of Socialism. It is expressed in the all-round development of Socialist personalities, the comprehensive development of a Socialist way of life in accordance with the nature and ideals of the working class, in the growing wellbeing and happiness of the people. This is a unitary process of growth.

In all fields we have to elaborate and carry through our Socialist position, our standards of value, our feeling for life, our social psychology. Socialist culture comprises the whole intellectual, moral, aesthetic and emotional level of development of man, all his knowledge, abilities, talents, modes of behaviour, attitudes and convictions, his social habits and pleasures. All these elements are expressed in cultural needs.

We proceed from the fact that the needs are extremely differentiated in the very field of culture. "One thing does not behove all" Goethe said. Needs depend on material and cultural living conditions, the degree of education, cultural habits and traditions and the state of Socialist relations between the people. On the other hand there are still differences between the objective and subjective conditions for the development and satisfaction of Socialist cultural needs. The situation in large enterprises—the centres of the working class—is more advantageous than in many medium-sized and small enterprises. The differences in cultural development between town and countryside, and also differences in the cultural level within the working class, the class of cooperative farmers and other social strata cannot be overlooked.

The goals of our cultural policy are therefore the satisfaction of very differentiated cultural and artistic needs. Thus we need, for example, theatrical productions of classics, like "Hamlet" and "Faust", the works of the great Socialist dramatists from Gorky to Brecht, Socialist contemporary plays and at the same time the farce, the burlesque and the folk-play. This is true of all arts.

Our attention is always directed to tendencies forging ahead, resulting from the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the goals of Socialism. It is a matter of course that we strongly oppose influences of the decaying imperialist mass culture and will make no concessions to mediocrity and ideological backwardness. Appearances of intellectual unassumingness are as foreign to our cultural life as narrow-minded prudery. Our cultural work is intentionally directed to all valuable intellectual abilities and properties of the people in Socialist society, to political convictions and ethical standards of values, to the intellect and sentiment, to reason and fantasy, the ability to enjoy oneself and the sense of beauty. "Our aim has been and remains the training of educated and convinced

builders of Socialism filled with the spirit of proletarian internationalism", says the report of the Central Committe to the Eighth Congress (op. cit. p. 52).

We want to develop Socialist culture in all spheres of life, we need it in the developed Socialist society. If we understand and organize culture in this wide sense all working people will actually take part in the development and spreading of our culture: as producers and consumers of the material goods created by them, as shapers of the Socialist way of life determined by the ideals of the working class.

It is a very important ideological task of the party organizations and their leaderships that responsibility for cultural development is recognized and exercised in all fields: in industry and agriculture, trade and transport, education and at the universities, colleges and technical schools, in the health service and sports. The art of cultural and political leadership activity consists in the planned development of the different elements of Socialist culture and in combining them harmoniously: Socialist working conditions, the protection and shaping of the environment, culture in human relations and in the personal style of life, the further development of the scientific world outlook and its dissemination among the people, the promotion of science and education, the cultivation of the humanistic cultural heritage and its appropriation by the working people, the rise of art and its social effectiveness, the development of all creative abilities and talents of the people.

Culture of Work

Comrades,
The cultural development of Socialist society is closely connected with progress in science and technology. The shaping of the developed Socialist society and the scientific and technological revolution do not only coincide in time. The Eighth Congress set the task of combining organically the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the Socialist economic system and to develop to a greater extent than before forms of cooperation between science and production appropriate to

Socialism. It is a matter of the conscious cooperation of the working class and the other working people in scientific and technical progress, of such an organization of material production and its management and planning which necessitates and promotes the development of the creative work of producers. In Socialism technology must be shaped in accordance with human needs, stimulate productive capacities and wellbeing at work. We are aware of the fact that there are contradictions and obstacles, that the technological shaping of the production process necessarily includes monotony of work and elements of one-sidedness of human labour. We are therefore always interested in increasing the mental elements in the working process, reducing physically heavy and one-sided work, seeing to it that Socialist rationalization is carried out for the wellbeing of man.

Today we see that the quick transfer of scientific findings to the production process, participation in the innovators' movement, activity in enterprise and social committees, cultural activities in the working groups make novel demands on the knowledge and abilities of workers in industry and agriculture and necessitate a new stage of their cultural level. The scientific and technological revolution calls for high technical education corresponding to the demands of the division of labour and high specialization in the work process. The conscious acitivity of the working people for scientific and technical progress is also dependent on their economic knowledge, on their understanding of national economic connections and on their ability to successfully apply the criteria of Socialist economy in their own sector.

Both scientific research and practical experience show that creative initiative at work and in social life, the productive capacities of the working people depend not only on their technical knowledge and experience but also to a very high extent on their political attitude, their ideological interest, their ideological and ethical values and their cultural needs.

More than before the cultural needs of the working people are directed to the combination of work by hand and by brain, to the good organization of work, to the political and moral quality of relations in the work group. But they also comprise machinery and plants, the quality of products, the level of work arrangement, supply

facilities, hygienic and health care and possibilities for cultural acitivities and recreation.

Working conditions themselves are an inseparable part of Socialist culture. Since the Eighth Congress there has been an increasing recognition of the connection between Socialist rationalization, increase in production and the profound improvement of working conditions.

Everyone has a need for expedient and pleasant working conditions. Many working groups began to arrange their working places in a better and more attractive way. Order and cleanliness at the working place, in the enterprises, on the construction site, in the production cooperatives are elementary conditions of culture– where they are not sought one cannot speak of Socialist culture. It is a question of a worker's honour to produce at an orderly working place, in high quality and on schedule.

The fact that Socialist culture begins at the working place and depends on the character of working conditions has unfortunately not been understood by all economic managers, party and trade union officials. Lack of order and cleanliness, molestation by noise, unfavourable air and lighting conditons, bad colour arrangement and insufficient equipment of the various working and social facilities very often give reason for justified criticism from the working people. Where the work culture, that is the expedient, pleasant and satisfying arrangement of all working conditions, is not appreciated enough the reason is often that these questions are considered by managers only as technical and economic problems and not as an important prerequisite for the wellbeing and creative activity of workers.

The measures for the cultural arrangement of working conditions must become part of Socialist conceptions of rationalization everywhere. Most progress is made where working groups are instructed early and thoroughly on measures of rationalization and possibilities of taking an active part in the arrangement of working conditions.

The culture of work also includes an attentive attitude to everyone and his performance, respect for the proposals and opinions of the working people. The atmosphere in the working group, cultural forms of behaviour, appreciation of the individual and his achieve-

ments, the relationship between managers and working groups are important factors which contribute to creative initiatives, wellbeing in the working group and to pleasure in work. For all these reasons great attention must be paid to the tasks of work culture.

In order to fulfil the main task set by the Eighth Congress Socialis work culture in all its many aspects must be greatly improved. Tha is a key question for Socialist culture, for the coming into effect and satisfaction of growing cultural needs.

Socialist emulation gives important impulses to the cultural life of the working class and the other working people. Over three million working people, that is 55 per cent of all working people joined the movement "To work, learn and live in a Socialist way". Many of these teams compete for the honorary title "Socialist Work Team". For a great many teams work according to educational and cultural plans has already become customary. These plans can of course only comprise important highlights of joint cultural activities. The heavy engineering workers of Magdeburg maintain a reasonable principle by including what "interests all, benefits all and gives pleasure to all". It is undoubtedly a great achievement that about a third of all working people are thus stimulated to enrich their cultural life, but it shows at the same time that comprehensive tasks for the improvement of the cultural level of the whole working class have still to be fulfilled.

To a greater extent than before Socialist emulation should contribute to guaranteeing the unity of economic achievements and cultural activities. As part of the emulation program the educational and cultural plans help workers to gain access to scientific knowledge and artistic experience and to increase the political and moral quality of community relations. Such plans, economic and cultural efficiency contests and enterprise festivals have proved to be efficient possibilities for promoting the intellectual and cultural life of the working class. Most progress was made in enterprises such as the Ernst Thälmann Works in Magdeburg, the Cable Works in Schwerin, the Nationally-Owned Electronic Computer Works in Zella-Mehlis where under the leadership of the party organizations state managers and trade union officials work together and develop intellectual and cultural life in accordance with the requirements of Socialist mass emulation.

We welcome the initiatives of working groups such as the Völkerfreundschaft team in the Bitterfeld Chemical Combine, the tube rollig mill workers in Riesa and the chemical workers in Leuna who—inspired by the experience gathered by Soviet trade unions and starting from their own tasks—called into being schools of Socialist work. The collectives closely connect the activities of these schools with the solution of the tasks of Socialist emulation, with the personal life and interests of the working people.

With its growing political maturity and cultural needs the working class makes ever higher demands on the ideological guidance of emulation. Tendencies of formal leadership, schematic criteria of evaluation and ignorance of the real needs and abilities of working people are best overcome where the variety of cultural needs is prudently taken into account, where relations between communal and individual cultural interests of the work-mates are recognized and where ideological, and ethical and moral problems in the teams are connected with the basic ideological questions of our time. The Eighth Congress of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions gave an important orientation to the "work, learn and live in a Socialist way" movement. The annual defence of the state title should be used to increase the economic effectiveness of obligations and to exert an even greater influence on the improvement of the cultural standards of the members of the teams and the development of their sense of social responsibility through cultural and educational work. The enterprise collective agreements should be made better use of to spend the financial and material means of the enterprises on the improvement of the cultural standards of the working people. The 222,000 cultural officials of the trade union groups, who do important social work, should be given still better guidance and support.

Cultural Transformation in the Countryside

One of the most important concerns of our party in the further implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Congress is to further improve working and living conditions as well as cultural life in the villages and to make them more similar to those in the towns

through the gradual change-over to industrial methods of production in agriculture and the further development of relations of cooperation. The great cultural process of growth in the class of cooperative farmers is thus further continued. We can show a good balance. In two decades our villages have changed more than in centuries before. The living conditions of many agricultural workers today comprise visits to theatres and cinemas, literature, sports, television and radio.

The Eleventh Farmers' Congress noted, however, that much has still to be done to satisfy the growing cultural needs of cooperative farmers and the rural population. Socialist emulation is of great importance for the planned development of the intellectual and cultural life of the working people in the village, too. Especially work in accordance with cultural and educational plans, economic and cultural efficiency contests and village festivals give important impulses to Socialist cultural life in the countryside and increasingly determine its contents. The councils for agriculture and the food industry and the executive bodies of the agricultural production cooperatives should feel fully responsible for the goal-oriented development of Socialist emulation and consider the shaping of the intellectual and cultural life of their working groups and villagers as a firm part of their leadership activity and emulation.

Development in the countryside takes place in a very differentiated manner. Centres of social life were established for example at Dedelow and Plate-Banzkow of which good party work, a high political and technical standard of the working people and active intellectual and cultural life are characteristic. Due to many-sided activities among the communities conditions for the better satisfaction of the cultural needs of the rural population are gradually being created. Everywhere there is the need for the improvement of working environment, of culture in human relations and for cultural experience. It can be best satisfied where—as at Beesenstedt (Saalkreis)—the community council, the executive board of the cooperative farm, the local committee of the National Front and social organizations cooperate within the framework of the village club.

We support the efforts made by communities to make coordinate and better use of the means and resources of culture with the help

of central club councils in connection with the development of relations of cooperation. An especially urgent problem is the creation of new rooms for social events, for cultural activities as well as gastronomical facilities on a high level. The exchange of experience among the village clubs should be better organized by the district councils. In cooperation with the county councils the Ministry of Culture has to clarify the perspective of the rural film in the period ahead. The League of Culture, artists' associations and artistic establishments should further spread the good examples of cooperation between artists and agricultural workers. The knowledge and experience of the members of the rural intelligentsia—teachers, physicians, graduate agriculturists, engineers and technicians—should be better used for cultural life in the countryside.

For a Beautiful Environment

Many proposals and initiatives show that the working people not only want to work under good conditions, but also live in a beautiful environment. The natural environment is a direct part of the working and living conditions of the people. We have already done a lot for its improvement. This year alone 270 million marks will be placed at the disposal of the chemical industry for this purpose.

Problems of environmental control and of nature protection are of worldwide interest at present. In the imperialist countries the scandalous environmental pollution by the monopolies, which are exclusively interested in ever higher profits, meets with the growing resistance of the working people. With us, however, environmental protection and control serve the meaningful shaping of the relationship of man with his environment, the deepening of his love for the Socialist homeland. This refers to the work place and the dwelling, to order and cleanliness in the cities, the cultivation and arrangement of parks and lawns.

Remarkable progress has been made in the construction of new city centres, the building of new residential areas and in the cultivation of monuments. But a lot has still to be done in architecture and building, designing, fashion and publicity, trade and

tourism, control and protection of the environment. Thanks and social recognition to those citizens who in their spare-time cultivate our natural environment, conserve and improve it, often by hard work.

The shaping of an environment promoting a Socialist way of life and the sense of beauty of the people is of course a long process, especially in face of the heritage left by capitalism. At present we will not be able to solve many a task of value conservation and the shaping of the environment. But we can keep our communities and towns clean and orderly without additional means and forces. This is within the power and in the interests of every citizen. With the aid of the "Help beautify our towns and communities" emulation we want to create more favourable conditions for a cultural community life and to considerably improve the picture of towns and communities.

A cultural and well-arranged environment is in accordance with the basic line decided at the Eighth Congress. We also further support efforts for a synthesis of architecture and pictorial art. The best results were achieved where pictorial art was not considered as an ornamental ingredient to architecture, but merges with it into a unity. This was possible especially where those commissioning the work, city planners, architects and pictorial artists came together for creative community work before work started and incorporated broad sections of the people.

In accordance with the goals of the Eighth Congress the connection between architecture and pictorial art should be extended to a greater extent to residential areas, work places, the spheres of culture and education, to recreation and sports. Not only interior rooms but also exterior space offer ample opportunity for artistic arrangement.

Meaningful Spare-Time Activities

Increasing demands in the production process, and also necessary time for qualification and honorary social activity arouse different needs, of course: the need for joint cultural experience as well as for individual activity and recreation. The wish to satisfy cultural

needs at home has doubtlessly become stronger. After all some 80 per cent of all households have a television set by now. On an average every citizen spends per week some 15 hours of his spare-time before the TV screen. Watching TV as well as listening to the radio has become a daily habit and a fundamental need for millions of people in our country.

Our party always paid great attention to the development of television. At the Eighth Congress Comrade Erich Honecker clearly outlined the new social demands on the television service of the GDR. Greater impact of political and journalistic broadcasts, variety and a high standard of all artistic programs, a high enterntainment value are demands resulting from the growing cultural needs of the working people as well as from the requirements of the ideological class struggle with imperialism. Television should make an even better use of its possibilities to stimulate the working people to take part in cultural life and creative cultural activities.

The new community relations developing in the sphere of work should also be encouraged to a greater extent in spare-time. Joint experiences, whether in the theatre or cinema, concert, club or house of culture can give new impulses to meaningful spare-time activities. Although much progress has been made in the shaping of spare-time activities due to the introduction of the five-day working week, the prolongation of holidays, the creation of new recreational centres and the improvement of recreational facilities much has still to be done.

We know that for a not unimportant part of the workers, especially women, the time for necessary education and cultural activity is greatly restricted by heavy occupational burdens, many social tasks and family obligations. On the other hand there are also appearances of waste of time, one-sidedness, boredom, and moral instability. Our police organs have to deal with infringements connected with the excessive use of alcohol.

Rich cultural spare-time activities are therefore a question of material conditions and cultural possibilities as well as of the education and training of the working people, especially the youth. The remarks of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 15th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR that spare-time can be considered as real social wealth only "if it is used in the interest of the all-round

development of man, his abilities and thus for an even greater increase in the material and intellectual potential of the whole society" holds fully good for us (L. I. Brezhnev, The Great Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU Is Consistently Implemented, Dietz Verlag, 1972, p. 16).

In the residential areas, too, the activities of many tenants' organizations promote community relations. The discussion on problems of our policy and works of literature and art as well as the organization of festivals and other events contributes to it. We know of course that many residential areas have only some or no material means for such community experience. It is therefore the more necessary to make far better use of existing opportunities in towns and communities. With little expenditures many a restaurant, club-room or other establishment could be better designed and furnished. Even if we cannot put up new cultural establishments in some towns at present their future location should be taken into account by territorial planning already now.

Socialism makes it possible for all artistically talented people to be active in accordance with their inclinations and interests. Folk art develops in a manifold and differentiated way in a close friendly and creative relationship with professional art. Circles of worker-writers, workers' and farmers' theatres, dance groups and ballets, circles for painting and graphic art, choirs and singing clubs, symphony orchestras, brass bands and dance combos, amateur film circles, artistic groups and other genres of art are active in all counties and districts. They enrich cultural everyday life in the enterprises, schools, towns and communities, holiday and recreation centres. Folk art has a wide field of activities at enterprise and village festivals, in the shaping of the environment, in the community relations of the working poeple and the youth and the cultivation of the personal sphere of life.

The Eighth Congress set the task of further increasing the effectiveness of folk art in daily life and still better fulfilling the growing interests of the working poeple and youth in their own cultural and artistic activity. We want to promote the creative abilities of the people in their great variety, from the groups of innovators in the enterprises to the groups and circles in the different fields of interest, from nature-lovers and lovers of the

homeland in the League of Culture to the groups and circles of creative folk art. In addition to thousands of workers in the folk-art movement it is the young people in the singing clubs, the members of the film clubs, the members of the League of Culture and other circles who develop creative pleasure, intellectual curiosity, fantasy and emotions in their spare-time.

The main sense of all this is to avoid intellectual onesidedness, to enrich the personality of the people to widen their intellectual horizon, to raise their cultural level, to develop them fully. Moreover, the development of the individual has retroactive effects on his position in the working group, on his creative work, on the cultural atmosphere in the enterprise and in the family, on his whole Socialist way of life.

The Central House for Cultural Activities, district cabinets, clubs and houses of culture and the most advanced folk-art groups should give even more varied suggestions for a differentiated cultural and artistic activity of the working people. An important task of managements is to see to it that the most outstanding talented folk aritsts become Socialist artists and writers and that new qualified leaders for all fields of the folk-art movement are trained continuously.

Cultural and Aesthetic Education and Training

The general ten-year polytechnical secondary school lays the decisive foundation for the development of all features of the Socialist personality. It ist the task of the school and all social forces to educate all children in the spirit of our Socialist ideology and ethics so that they will be young citizens with a high scientific and emotional level and a developed Socialist consciousness. This includes the readiness to defend the Socialist homeland, the ability to come to grips independently with the ideology and unculture of imperialism. It also includes a well-developed Socialist morality, high intellectual and cultural demands and a profound sense of the good and beautiful.

Decisive prerequisites for this are a high scientific quality of

instruction, masterly skills of educators and a genuine relationship of trust between teacher and pupil.

Cultural and aesthetic education is part of the overall educational process. It is not only a task of the teachers of German, music and art. The aesthetic and rich cultural shaping of the milieu at school, lasting artistic experiences, especially in getting acquainted with the cultural heritage, the revolutionary traditions of the working-class movement and the history of the GDR–all that supports considerably the formation of the scientific world outlook of the young generation, ennobles their character and feelings, gives them well-founded knowledge and a value orientation for their activities in Socialist society. It is also necessary to do even more, so that the need of pupils to sing, dance, make music, design, to paint, to play theatre, that is, to give artistic expression to ideas and feelings, will be developed more fully. By setting up a Commission on Culture the Ministry of Education found an efficient form for working in this sense together with artists and their associations.

The aesthetic and artistic education of children and young people not only concerns educationists, pioneer and youth organizations. It would be good if the press, radio and television gave more suggestions and ideas on how aesthetic and artistic experience could be incorporated in family education in a more meaningful and varied way. The achievements of our artistic creation for children, especially in the field of theatre, literature and illustrative art, win international recognition. Our party calls on writers and artists to devote their talents and work to children and young people to an even greater extent. The fundamental criteria by which the social efficiency of orchestras, theatres, folk-art groups, cinemas, clubs and houses of culture–indeed, all cultural establishments–must be measured include the question: What are they doing for the aesthetic and artistic training and education of children and young people?

There are many activities in this direction which must be given full social recognition. Among them there are also the efforts at universities and colleges to further improve the cultural and aesthetic education of all students and their cultural activities.

Since the Eighth Congress of the SED and the Ninth Parliament of the FDJ progress has been made in the intellectual and cultural

life of young people, too. The cultural spare-time activities of youth are often full of ideas and more interesting. This is especially the case where the leading FDJ bodies work well together with state managers, the mass organizations and cultural establishments and the basic organizations of the FDJ exercise their responsibility for cultural and political activities among the youth more fully.

The implementation of the cultural and educational plans of the youth collectives in industry, in trade, in the administrations and in agriculture, cultural competition at schools and universities, in many youth clubs, folk-art clubs and singing clubs shows that there are great cultural creative potentialities in young people. Their own cultural activities, such as the meeting of young talents, the galleries of friendship, the literature festivals, the singing movement, the weeks of the political song, the development of new dance music and other activities enrich our whole cultural life. The state managers, mass organizations, artists' associations and cultural establishments should support the FDJ in all districts to an even greater extent.

In some enterprises and cultural establishments there is still no recognition of the great variety of cultural interests of young people. In the past years youth clubs in some counties were even closed down and used for other purposes and possibilities for youth dances were limited. We strongly oppose such occurrences.

We request all cultural workers, artists, writers and managers of cultural establishments to promote and help to realize new interesting ideas for the development of a meaningful cultural life serving the development of the Socialist world of ideas and feelings and the morality of youth. It should not be forgotten that the point is to develop the cultural demands of youth continuously, not to be satisfied with low standards, but to guarantee a varied and demanding cultural life of the youth.

Aesthetic and artistic experience seizes hold of the entire person and affects him deeply, right down to his language and manners. Such experiences are indispensable, especially for forming genuine feelings for our great humanist cause in the young generation. Everyone knows that the opponent above all makes use of aesthetic and cultural needs in order to gain an influence on young people. But we won't give him an inch of our ground. It is necessary fully

to fill the thinking and feeling of our young people with the Socialist spirit, with Socialist conceptions of value, to arm them most profoundly against the poison of the anti-humanist imperialist ideology and immorality.

The preparation of the Tenth World Festival opens up a wide scope for a rich cultural life among young people. It is important to become better acquainted with the life, struggle and cultural creativity on the part of youth of the world for peace, democracy and Socialism and to acquire the treasures of world art. Our young people should have good knowledge in order to report to the guests from all over the world about our work and our life and to help stamp the World Festival with new songs, dances and cultural programs. We therefore consider it necessary that all social organizations and state organs in all districts and localities coordinate their cultural projects in preparation of the Tenth World Festival on the initiative of the leading bodies of the youth association. Interesting joint programs should come into existence everywhere, for the cultural organization of leisure time, which take account of the variety of interests and the creative ideas of youth.

Culture of Human Relations

Socialist society is a society with high ethical and moral characteristics. It is moved by great ideas and determined by a policy pursued in the interest of man, social progress and peace. But this policy and these ideas become a powerful material force only if they are firmly anchored in the social psychology, in the feeling and moral behaviour of every single member of Socialist society.

The class consciousness of our working class, the Socialist thinking of all working people of the GDR is highly developed. Our guests are mostly strongly impressed by the high ideological and moral level, by the convincing expression of proletarian internationalism and the firm anti-imperialist attitude of working people in the GDR. But there are many things still to be done to deepen this Socialist consciousness through the culture of human relations, the culture of social manners and habits. We know that in the sphere of human relations our Socialist ethical values are not always

implemented in reality. There are still many cases of indifference, of impolite behaviour towards fellow-citizens. In Socialist society there is no room for appearances of disrespect for man, for careless egoistic behaviour towards the individual and the community.

We want to draw your attention to these questions because a public interest and an atmosphere of intolerance of moral and ethical mistakes are an important condition for letting all advantages of Socialism come into full effect.

II. Literature and Art Enrich Our Life

Dear Comrades,

The artists of the GDR gave great approval to the decisions of the Eighth Congress. Their confidence in the policy of our party has grown further. They consider the Eighth Congress as a confirmation of the continuous, principled and progressive policy of culture and art characteristic of the course of the revolutionary working-class movement in all phases of its struggle.

The close relationship with art which was typical of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism, of the leaders of the German revolutionary working-class movement from Wilhelm Liebknecht to Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl is increasingly becoming a matter of course. Today we are experiencing a new stage of the alliance of our society with the creative artistic forces. Since the Eighth Congress the agreement of the artists with the goals of our Socialist society has further increased. The Congress encouraged and inspired their creative efforts for the all-round strengthening of Socialism. This atmosphere was a characteristic feature prevailing at the Second Congress of the Association of Film and Television Workers and the Central Delegate Conference of the Art Workers' Trade Union as well as at the recent sessions of the Academy of Arts and the executive bodies of the artists' associations. Many letters to the central organ Neues Deutschland and to other newspapers and journals, radio and television make it clear that artists consider the decisions taken by the Party Congress as their own concern.

Artists feel the growing interests in their works, the need of many workers to take an interest in works of art, to let themselves be inspired and challenged to gather their own experience and form their own attitudes. There are lively discussions about new works of literature and film. Fortunately DEFA films are winning a greater audience again. The need of spectators for contemporary pieces shown by the theatre and television is better satisfied. The festival of the political song attracted more young people than the halls could accommodate.

Since the Eighth Party Congress especially county art exhibitions have become centres of the creative meeting of many people with new works of art. Well over 350,000 visitors came to see these exhibitions. This is double or triple the number of visitors to similar exhibitions in the past years. More and more a genre of art and literature is coming into being, to which—as Lenin forecast in his work "Party Organization and Party Literature" in 1905—"the idea of Socialism and sympathy with the working people will bring ever new forces". An art and literature which does not serve a thin stratum feeling bored and suffering from fatty degeneration, "but millions and tens of millions of working people—the flower of the country, its strength and its future". (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 10, pp. 48—49)

Our party always proceeded from the assumption that in the intellectual life of our society the arts are indispensable and irreplaceable. We can neither do without the discoveries of science nor the discoveries of the arts. For centuries the exploiting classes withheld art from the exploited classes. But from the beginning of the revolutionary movement, especially since the development of scientific Communism the exploited masses fought "to regain their status as human beings". (Marx/Engels, Werke, Vol 37, p. 43)

Life is poorer without the arts and aesthetic demands. Man also needs the development of his senses, his ethic and aesthetic potentialities, his ability to enjoy himself. Though art does not determine the development of these potentialities alone it has a decisive influence on it.

More than ever before many people are today moved by the question concerning the sense of life, the goal of all our efforts and our struggle. Everything for the wellbeing of the people!—We ask

ourselves what this our motto understands by wellbeing, by happiness. It is quite natural that these questions are repeatedly asked now when a lot is being done to increase the material standard of living as result of the implementation of the decisions taken by the Eighth Congress. A higher material standard of living does not automatically produce a higher cultural level. A higher cultural level means the formation of Socialist personality features, a togetherness borne by the high moral attitude of the working class. This includes responsibility extending to the relationship with one's fellow human being, with the collective, with society. Our Socialist realistic art is called upon to help in this respect. It combines cognition and ethical demands with pleasure and delight. It shows how to live in a more human way by letting us take part in the lives of other people, in their thinking, feeling, their struggles, defeats and victories.

We highly appreciate the ideological contents, the cognitive value of the arts. As an elementary expression of life, as a creative and productive relationship with reality art also means creative will, sense of form, discovery of beauties hidden so far and many more things.

Our society needs and respects art in its full aesthetic individuality and in its special personality-forming functioning. Just this excludes any point-of-view of "art for art's sake". Socialist art only matures in the class struggle, in the fulfilment of big social tasks, and it comes into effect in the class struggle, in the struggle for the shaping of the new Socialist society and fully developed Socialist personalities.

We proceed from the assumption that like any other creative activity artistic work is hard work that must be taken seriously. Important works of art cannot be ordered, do not come into existence because they are wished for. They need a climate of social expectation, of being urgently needed, and this climate is typical of the development traced out by the Eighth Congress. We also consider it our task to promote such a need for art which is a fertile soil for good popular art.

Principles of Socialist Realist Creative Work

After the Eighth Congress the question for artists is: How can we create new works of art which are both "up-to-date" and "of very good quality". We are glad that many artists consider this the main problem of their work and think about it. The inalienable foundations of Socialist creative work, a firm Socialist point-of-view, partisanship and popularity are a secure basis for discovering to a greater extent the whole range of all creative possibilities in the art of Socialist realism, for discovering a rich variety of subjects, contents, styles and forms.

The majority of artists are loyal to the working class and our party. Our art matured in the decades of ideological struggle against imperialism and its prevalent artistic schools, against opportunistic vagueness and non-commitment, against the revisionism of the right and the "left". Since the Eighth Congress many works have appeared in pictorial art, in stories, in lyrical art, on the radio, in films and songs which continue this militant tradition worthily.

Our art will be further strengthened and developed according to this line. Our cultural policy is directed at the promotion of a lively, rich and varied art. We are not going to leave out a single sound, a single colour, a single sphere of life.

Socialist realist art is called upon to express everything, to open up artistically everything that Socialist personalities need for their development. This orientation is an integral part of the overall policy pursued by our party. It is not a "temporary" variant, but the long-term perspective of our cultural policy. This is an important condition for further progress in the arts in secured Socialist positions. This is at the same time a new stage of the promotion of all creative abilities and power of our talented artists.

But all this also sets important limits vis-a-vis the modernistic schools of imperialist society. Artistic modernism is a social, ideological and aesthetic expression of the crisis of the prevailing art in imperialist society. It is seized by a deadly contradiction. Its artistic fathers often felt (and called themselves) as avantgardists. They believed that they worked under the sign of progress, partly of rebellion. But whenever they did not recognize the real forces of social progress, with the revolutionary working class being in

forefront, their idea of progress, of the "modern" was more and more restricted to art itself. Distaste for the socially antiquated and old becomes a campaign for the negation of "old art". Where those had drawn up a great humanistic image of man the "modern" arrived and increasingly arrives at the "dehumanization" of art. The search for the new becomes more and more a mere search for new structures and colours, sounds and words—and is therefore more and more subject to manipulated fashions. The discontent with the social reality of imperialism turns into the negation of the relations of art with reality in general. The creation of art is called the only creative act of the "creation of new realities". These and other features give modernism as a whole objectively an apologetic and reactionary function in imperialist society.

We are of course quite aware of the fact that the subjective attitudes of many a modernistic artist include an attitude of protest against the imperialist world and we therefore regard him as a potential partner in the joint struggle against imperialism. But subjective attitudes, such as individual works or schools within the "modern" where this spirit of protest is more clear-cut and active, do not change the social, ideological and aesthetic antagonism between Socialist realism and modernism as schools of art. No "realism without a shore" can cover up this antagonism. This "shorelessness" estranges art from life. It separates the artist from the real, lively movement of society and results in extreme subjectivism. We consider it necessary to clearly show this social function of modernism in discussions about artistic problems.

The struggle of the revolutionary German working-class movement has always been, artistically and aesthetically, a struggle for realism, especially Socialist realism, and against bourgeois modernism. This is a fighting experience of our party fully confirmed by historic practice. We shall not give it up under any circumstances. Though we come out strongly in favour of a wide scope and a great variety of all possibilities of Socialist realism, for a wide scope of creative search any concession to bourgeois ideologies and imperialistic conceptions of art are ruled out.

In whatever form it may express itself our Socialist realist art is above all reflection, mental appropriation of reality—one of the basic forms of its cognition. Our dialectical materialistic point-of-view of

the creative role of all reflection and cognition is founded on the knowledge, that "Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it." (V. I. Lenin, from his posthumous philosophical papers, Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 212). Realistic art, because it is directed at grasping the truth of life, will never be a mere copy, a mechanical, dead, mirror-like reflection of reality. The so-called "new realism", the latest school of modernistic art, is such a copy of reality which has nothing in common with art. Socialist realist art demands a profound intellectual understanding of the world, what it is really like, to make many connections transparent, to discover the possible in the reality, the appropriation of and judgement on ethic and aesthetic values. Although art is different from science it is, like it, a profound, creative form and mode of intellectual generalization. It is evaluation and creation closely connected with the individual imaginative and expressive power as important elements of artistic talent.

Socialism needs an art that is firmly founded on reality, makes voyages of discovery to this reality and its future possibilities. Realistic art is founded on life and has an effect on life, on its ever new change and transformation in the direction of our future-oriented ideals. This is the core of our conception of the creative in art, that it exerts a profound influence on man and society, that its intellectual creativeness merges with the creative power of the working class into a unitary process.

Why do we pose such questions? Because we connect all questions about the necessity, the sense and the particularity of art with the basic questions of our dialectical materialist world outlook. The more thoroughly this is done the more will it contribute not only to steeling our artists intellectually, but also to overcoming wrong conceptions of the role and the possibilities of art. We strive for the independent and original value of art. This requires, however, doing a lot for the education of man to have a sense and understanding of art so that art can do full justice to its potential great social and ideological role in our society. And finally, it is a matter of party work, of party guidance with regard to the Socialist development of art. In his work "Party Organization and Party Literature" Lenin pointed out: "There is no question, either, that in this field greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual

inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 10, p. 46). This also includes the high–I deliberately say–Leninist respect for artistic talent. "Talent is rare. It must be cultivated systematically and carefully", Lenin wrote to the editorial board of the Pravda and called the infringement of this principle a gross sin against workers' democracy. (Lenin, Briefe (Letters), Vol. III, p. 187–in German).

Discovery of the Truth of Life

The decisions and documents of the party give artists a reliable orientation. They help them to find their way into reality; to comprehend great social connections and important social developments. The decades-old history of our art speaks of many creative impulses Socialist artists gain from a correct attitude to the documents of the party, that is to the application of Marxism-Leninism to the analysis of social development. They are a good guide to the deeper discovery of the truth of life.

Starting from the decisions of the Congress does not mean in artistic creation to illustrate them. Where else than in Socialism should the principle be valid: To be an artist means to be the discoverer of new realities, means to deal with new subjects, new facts of life and spheres of life. This also demands discovering the possibilities hidden there, giving new evaluations from a Socialist point of view and thus shaping new sets of values. A confectioner's style, shallow pleasing smoothness, over-optimistic pictures of reality are as little worth as those which paint life only in the darkest colours. To describe the beautiful in our life artistically also means to show the pains and labour that were necessary to achieve it. To describe the ideals of the working class and Socialism convincingly in an artistically way will only be possible for those works of art whose intellectual content is true to reality and life. This was a main concern of the Second Congress of Film and Telefilm Makers. This was discussed by many visitors to exhibitions. By going to the bottom of reality the power and talent which has always been the

best part of great and popular art is growing in our art: the discovery, intellectual penetration, playing through and anticipation of the rich, multifarious future possibilities of man and society.

The responsibility of artists grows through the full development of the creative role artists play in the formation of Socialist personalities under the leadership of the working class and its party. It is a matter of the further enrichment of the Socialist world outlook dealing with many aspects and facts of life. It is a matter of the further development of Socialist morality and social psychology, the Socialist attitude and way of life of the working people. Such a creative activity of artistic talents is the highest and most mature expression of a Socialist partisan attitude.

We proceed from the assumption that while the role of art and literature in our social life is becoming more important the responsibility of the Socialist organizations of writers and artists, their associations will increase, too.

Our artists have started to conduct an open and matter-of-fact discussion about the further progress of the arts and their concrete problems of work in their associations. A great many artists expressed their opinions in the press. The Academy of Arts has developed a considerably more active intellectual life going beyond plenary sessions and sessions of the various sections, and the interested public takes part in creative discussions about arts, for example, during the Academy hours.

Many new questions are being asked, there are serious efforts to answer them. Due to the intensity with which the ways of our Socialist art are sought this discussion—which we welcome emphatically—is an important intellectual contribution to the further shaping of our developed Socialist society.

The Working Class in Art

Our conception of the topicality of creative work is very wide. It comprises the ever more profound interpretation of the "sense of history", the experience of the unity and fraternity with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Socialist community as well as international solidarity, the continuation of the antifascist tradi-

tions of our art and the artistic struggle against the world of imperialism and its destructive effect on man—these are the main directions in which the class positions and the Socialist contents of our art develop. By going in these directions art as a whole wins the world-historic horizon which has always been characteristic of master works.

In the centre of many creative reflections there is justly the artistic description of the active builders of Socialism, above all of the members of the working class. The portrayal of workers has a great tradition deeply rooted in our art. The formation of the Socialist character of our literature and art was decisively influenced from this very direction. The struggle for the portrayal of workers is and will be the intellectual and aesthetic nucleus of further artistic progress. It is the working class, the leading class of our society, which largely determines the subject of art through the development of all its conditions, its practical and intellectual activity.

Not a few artists are justly dissatisfied with simplifying and shallow descriptions, with descriptions of the working people which are sometimes quite superficial. The point is to comprehend, deeply and concretely, the great social and history-making power of the working class today, its role in our society and in the world-revolutionary process, to show the position, the ideas, and character of a class which make it a leading social force. We encourage artists to devote themselves to a greater extent to the sphere of work and the Socialist attitude to work and to treat them as subjects worthy of art. This is not easy. The profound changes in the character of work resulting from the connection between Socialism and the scientific and technological revolution call for a creative quest for new realistic portrayals to which we give our full support and encouragement.

There have long been close and fertile contacts of many work teams with artists. Undoubtedly existing and—as we wish—further developing close relations between artists and individual workers, with work teams and enterprises help to give a more valid expression to the visage of the working class in our art through a mutual give and take, learning and understanding. A fundamental condition for all concrete creative efforts—this must be emphasized—is the profound understanding and recognition of the leading role of the

working class in our society as an objective law, the accord of artistic goals with the goals of Socialism.

All classes and strata of our society take part in the construction of Socialism in the GDR. It is the historic merit of the revolutionary working class and its party that it influences the whole social structure in a progressive direction, that in a productive relationship with the working class all still existing classes and strata develop change, assume Socialist characteristics, that their own interests expectations, forms of life and mutual relations are largely determined by their relationship to the working class as the leading class This great social structure, which is determined by the class alliance between the working class, cooperative farmers, the Socialist intelligentsia and other strata of the working people of our country has not been expressed artistically to a sufficient degree in all its aspects, ramifications and effects on the apparently most private destiny.

It is not only the great historic paintings which deserve the interest of artists, but also so-called "little" subjects, the discovery and portrayal of the "Socialist" in everyday life, in the trials and transformations of the people. There is no sphere of life, no field of the social life of the people in our society that can be "unimportant" to art.

The Portrayal of Conflicts

Creative problems about which there are lively discussions also include the question of how to depict conflicts in art.

At the Eighth Party Congress and on other occasions E. Honecker First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, gave a fundamental answer to the question about the conditions of the artistic representation of conflicts and their relation to social contradictions. As Marxists-Leninists we know that contradictions are not a "blemish" of social development, they are the motor of all social progress. This is also true in Socialism. Here they have a non-antagonistic character and are solved by common efforts. In the struggle for their solution which is full of conflicts Socialist personalities come into being. The party judges matters soberly

with political realism. It overcomes existing conflicts courageously and resolutely. The people of our society do not grow up under a glass cover, but by undergoing ever new trials and decisions, they have to cope with many conflicts on their personal road. Socialism for the first time creates the basis for a harmony between the interests and goals of individuals and the interests and goals of the whole society. Our road since the Eighth Congress shows how we have made a more effective and better use of these possibilities. But this harmony never develops automatically, by itself so to say. It must be struggled for and implemented ever anew in the acting, thinking and feeling of the people and through the course of the whole society. Just like the greatness and beauty of the people who build it, the beauty and greatness of Socialism cannot be shown if everything runs smoothly. A lack of conflict is not proper for Socialist art, it is an infringement of the living truth of our art, it exists neither in social nor individual life.

A firm Socialist point-of-view, a high political and moral power of judgement, an unwavering Leninist partisan attitude are the necessary artistic condition for the realistic portrayal of social and personal contradictions and conflicts in which people in our society grow and mature, and repeatedly stand many tests and make decisions.

Artistic experience proves that it is not sufficient to show that there are contradictions and that they can be solved by our society. Partisan portrayal shows itself in the fact that it leads to Socialist decisions in personal conflicts and a partisan attitude in the solution of conflicts. This means that with the means of art it challenges for clear decisions in line with our policy and ethics, incorporates people in the coming-to-grips with contradictions and conflicts mentally and emotionally on a Socialist basis–without giving them ready solutions.

We are convinced that our artists–together with our party and the working class–will become so mature as to be able to portray all, even the most difficult processes of our life in great works of art and to help the people of our society find Socialist answers to their personal and social problems.

Many artists struggle responsibly for the "What" and "How" of the representation of personal and social conflicts in art. It is their

declared intention to strengthen Socialism, to consolidate it positions, to achieve a closer relationship of every member of ou society with the Socialist GDR, with the Soviet Union and th Socialist brother countries. For this reason they become familia with the experience of the class struggle and bring our present-da efforts in relation to the past and future.

The artists' associations, the Academy of Art and art scholar should carry out a thorough discussion about questions of a partisan attitude in the portrayal of conflicts and about specifi problems arising in the individual arts in this process by means o concrete works. That is also true of the creation of "optimisti tragedies" in our art, the portrayal of tragic emotions. Just as th work of artists the struggle about such problems does not take plac in a vacuum of course. There can be hot dicussions when it is a matter of rejecting the influence of an ideology foreign or hostil to us, social immaturity or the lack of a sense of responsibility. We are confident that Socialist artists are themselves the sharpes critics of everything incomplete, untrue, superficial and unsocialis in art.

We shall not permit our enemies to interfere with these ou concerns and reject everything which is aimed at deforming our ar so that no way can be seen any longer because of the many contradictions, that Socialism is dragged through the mud. The hostile tactics of "eroding" Socialism is aimed at using the criticism and self-criticism necessary for us against us in a negative way—to make us inflict wounds on ourselves. From the point-of-view o conscious shapers of our Socialist society artists cannot be interested in the criticism of society pure and simple. The "critica element" is only productive in its dialectical relationship to the constructive function of art in Socialist society. A critical treatmen of aspects of life by artists can only be considered as a partia element of the role of art in our society.

Art and Ethics

Comrades,

The Eighth Congress set in motion a lively discussion about appearances of mediocrity, superficiality, boredom and routine in artistic work among artists and working people. Our party and the working people understand that just as in other activity one cannot always achieve the best in art, too. Naturally we are pleased about every good intention and strongly support it. But in order to be recognized by society not only intention and attitude, but also ability, creative value, the expression of talent in creative work are necessary. This is true of any work, especially for artistic work. On the other hand it is also true that those who take it easy will come to harm their talents. In the long run only the best will remain, which was created with the greatest devotion and responsibility.

Art has many effects, but especially—in literature and pictorial art—through impressive personalities easy to remember. To create figures who occupy a firm place in the thinking and feeling of the people is a high aim. We all live—consciously or unconsciously—with such figures of art. Of Lenin and Dimitrov their close relation with Rachmetov is known from Tschernyshevsky's novel "What is to Be Done". Such a figure can be "Pelle, the Conqueror" by Nexö for the one, for the other Ostrovski's Pavel Korchagin or Dasha from Gladkov's "Cement". For many it is Georg Heisler from Anna Segher's "The Seventh Cross", it is Professor Mamlock by Friedrich Wolf or the critical discussion about Gorky's Klim Samgin. Our contemporary art has also created examples, in it there are many beginnings for new great portrayals of man. But it should surely be analyzed somewhat more critically whether many a thing in our literature and art is not to small or shallow. Today the great, historically important is developing in daily life, in the daily efforts for our aims. The daily should therefore not be confounded with the trivial. A work arises from the profound understanding of the historic and human content of our Socialist development, our Socialist age.

We welcome the fact that artists deal with the value, place and responsibility of the individual, even—as, for example, especially in lyric art—with some seemingly unimportant questions of the individual, with his troubles and doubts. A sympathetic word of the

artist can help to overcome psychic conflicts, direct energy fully to life again, to the demands of the present and future. At the Party Congress we said: "We will keep perfecting Socialist society with all people and for all people of this country." (Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the SED, op. cit., pp. 71-72)

It is the task of the artist to fathom out the inner individual world of the people, to inquire into their relations, to go to the bottom of great moral questions of their existence. Our artists should be fully aware that they deal with an essential feature of the ideological class struggle in the present time. To draw up an ever richer, more differentiated Socialist concept of man from a Socialist point of view means at the same time to deepen our Socialist social image artistically, to make social connections and conditions visible—not to glide down into the state of classlessness. More than 35 years ago Anna Seghers warned: "It is of no use to the artist if he has learned his job in such a way as was once demanded by Flaubert that the tree depicted by him is different from all trees ever seen. The writer of our days must have understood something else about the essence of the tree. There is no homeland in general, there is no apple tree in general, it is a different apple tree on the field of the feudal lord, a different one on the field seized by the treasury, and a still different one again in the kolkhose." (Anna Seghers, "Patriotism", in: On the Tradition of Socialist Literature in Germany, Berlin 1962, p. 452) This is even more true of people and their human relations.

Art always has a lot to do with many personal questions. But to separate them from their social connections, from the class structure by which they are conditioned in the last analysis is a severe violation of the truth of life and leads to the abandonment of Socialist positions. Bourgeois ideologists advocate a separation of the individual from society. In a demagogic way the "freedom of the individual" and his alleged social independence and non-commitments are extolled as the measure of individuality. The untruthfulness of bourgeois individualism, also proclaimed by prominent social democrats in the FRG, that all people can fully develop without breaking the chains of exploitation was refuted long ago and is daily being refuted by capitalist reality itself.

Through the lively concreteness and convincing impact of artistic

pictures of the inner and outer world of the people in Socialism a sensible defeat can be inflicted on bourgeois ideology. By showing and shaping our Socialist concept of personality, our ethics, our concept of man in his relation to the maturing of Socialism in all spheres of life in many colours, in a detailed and ramified manner our artists work along the main line of our social progress and at the same time make an important contribution in the sharpening ideological struggle between Socialism and imperialism.

Humour in Art

Dear Comrades,
It is well known that there is a great need for laughter, pleasure, fun and humour. In some stage-plays, films and television films, above all in smaller literary forms and in the best achievements of amateur and professional cabarets this need is already well satisfied. But too rarely is humour connected with worldly wisdom and pointed popular wit. Too rarely in art does the comical grow out of life as it really is. All too often it is delegated to the fringe areas of life or clichés from a petty-bourgeois world are painted "socialistically". Ridicule can kill: Why should old forms of behaviour, narrow-mindedness, drinking, individualism, egoism, arrogance, etc., not be ridiculed! Let us think of how Lenin welcomed Mayakovsky's ridicule of "Those who are obsessed by sessions". Many an artist fears—not without reason to some extent—that it will be "taken amiss" if certain sides and aspects of our life are ridiculed and if they treat serious things humorously. "Whoever cannot ridicule himself is certainly not the best." This wise word of Goethe also retains its value in our Socialist conception of morality. Through laughing, humor, cheerfulness artists should help to encourage Socialist self-confidence, feeling of superiority to a greater extent. Sometimes not only good-natured humour is necessary, but also pointed irony and sarcastic satire which expose above all the enemy, his vanity and arrogance, but can also be directed against everything unsocialist in our country and cannot be tolerated good-naturedly. Just as we allow nobody to impugn our Socialist foundations we shall also be able to ensure that no one can exploit

our readiness to engage in self-criticism for the dirty business of our enemies.

If the working people want to have more humour—in all its shades—in art they do not only mean entertainment by the TV and variety shows, but also films on different subjects, stage-plays, music, literature and pictorial art. Humour must find expression not only in all fields of life, but also in all genres of our art. Its artistic and social importance is very great.

Especially in the field of entertainment the point is to satisfy the growing demands of the working people, especially young people, for pleasure, recreation and relaxation, in a more varied and imaginative way.

The dance music conference of the Ministry of Culture gave many suggestions for this. We are pleased at the progress made recently in this field which also became apparent in the competition among the dance bands at the 14th Workers' Festival. Entertainment, especially dance music, should contribute even more effectively to forming good taste and promoting clean relations among young people. In view of the great variety of demands and subjectively determined taste, international influences, and also backward habits and attitudes there are of course still complicated problems to be solved in this very field. Our dance music can neither develop in the chains of Western fashions nor in a secluded hothouse. It is important for the evaluation of dance music whether it gives pleasure, stimulates sociability and can meet demands for high quality.

Variety and Wealth of Socialist Realism

The popular and partisan art of Socialist realism gives expression to a wide range of subjects and contents. It can hold a great abundance of forms, creative possibilities, styles, peculiarities of "handwriting". It finds its expression in the direct reflection of life as well as in the parable, the symbol, fantasy, the fairy-tale and many others. Socialist realism is a historically young and dynamic art and is developing continuously. Our art has just set out to elaborate and test the potential wealth of its creative possibilities.

The creative search for new contents, to find the appropriate and most convincing forms and creative means for them is an important element of artistic progress. It would be wrong to reject artistic forms just because they seem to be new and unusual. Not just the How of a form is decisive in general, but what does it express, what discoveries and new evaluations does it make possible; does it permit generalizing appearances of the outer and inner world of man truthfully and convincingly; is it understandable, does it do justice to the real artistic needs of the working people.

In this sense our artists will search for the great variety of creative possibilities. Uniformity and clichés which are often still to be found reduce the effectiveness of arts just as formal sensationalism and snobbery which only want to be comprehensible to the "initiated". The search for new forms, means, techniques is indispensable, but if it leads to the neglect of contents or means becoming independent at the expense of the contents artists are on the wrong track in my opinion. That weakens or suffocates the partisan character and popularity of our art and can become a doorway to bourgeois influences. It should be welcomed if there were more critical discussions about questions of the unity of content and form, design and style in the technical journals.

The art of Socialist realism gives free scope to the individuality of the artist. Any realistic portrayal contains elements of the intellectual and psychic biography of its creator in one way or another, by the maturity of which the quality of works of art is largely determined. Not sensationalism or mannerism, but talent and imaginative power together with the wealth of this intellectual biography stamp the "handwriting" in art.

Our party wishes and seeks the participation of all artists. We also welcome the participation of those artists who say yes to Socialism in the GDR out of their attitude of sincere humanists, democrats and anti-fascists or for motives of Christian ethics without being committed to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The creative abilities and efforts, the world of experience, the experience of life and creative work of the individual artists are of course very different. It can, however, only be conducive to our art and our society if everyone is called upon to make the highest contribution to the Socialist image of man which is possible for him on the basis

of his personal prerequisites, if everyone is respected for this contribution.

History knows many examples of the ever closer approach of artists and their final, often complicated transition to the firm, ideologically well-founded positions of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party. This enriches Socialist art. This process has by no means been concluded in the present time. We shall promote it patiently, steadily and carefully without abandoning our principles.

Our Socialist society needs all the arts and their various genres. Socialist art addresses itself to all workers. The individual work will of course always meet certain interests, expectations and needs. Only art in its entirety can satisfy growing needs in a differentiated manner. When millions watch a television play, thousands see an opera performance or "only" the workers of an enterprise take pleasure in a drawing or the family in whose living room it hangs, this is no judgement about the social value of art.

No form of art can push another to the wall or make it superfluous, neither television, the motion picture, the novel or the short story. We need the radio play and the drama, great lyric art and the epigram, the symphony, the artistic song and the pop song, the monumental sculpture, the group painting, the historic painting, the still life, the life painting as well as the landscape painting—all possibilities.

I cannot give here my opinion on the development and on specific problems of individual genres of art. I shall only make some remarks on radio and television which perform a broad and manifold artistic work. Almost all kinds and genres of art have their firm place in the programs of TV and radio and can have a great mass effect there. In this process independent TV and radio forms of art emerge, as, for example, television and radio dramas.

The wide scope and range of the artistic expressions of television and radio give the artists of our country ample opportunity for their creative development and work. Our party welcomes the fact that more and more artists, poets and authors, composers and arrangers, painters and graphic artists, artists of almost all genres take part in shaping our television programs.

The executive committee and party organization of the television

service are well advised to make even more systematic, planned and open-hearted efforts for comradely cooperation with all artistic forces in our country. In our opinion there are great potentialities there.

Promotion of Talents

Dear Comrades,
One of our most important tasks is to dedicate ourselves to the early discovery, promotion, education and further systematic development of artistically highly talented young people. What we do or fail to do in this respect today will be decisive for our art of tomorrow. At present there is still too much spontaneity in the discovery and systematic promotion of talents, above all for the artistic professions. It is necessary to make sure to a greater extent that talented young people are discovered early and won for training at the various schools of art. This is above all true of the artistic creation of children and young people in all its forms.

Our party emphatically supports all initiatives of associations and state managements which direct their special attention to the promotion of debutants and young artists. They should be given more opportunities in all arts to show their talent to the public. The point is to watch attentively the development of artistic talents, to foster them prudently and to remove many an obstacle to the activity of talented young artistst in accordance with their abilities.

The schools of art bear a great responsibility for the training of an excellently educated, class-conscious and socially active young generation. In the last few years the colleges and schools of art have made progress. Nevertheless it is necessary to orientate education and training to the requirements of the practice of art to an even greater extent. This recommendation results not least from certain difficulties some graduates have in finding their place in the field of art. Schools of art should become centres of the permanent further education of artistic talents more than before.

It is above all imperative to think over thoroughly the conditions, quality and effectiveness of education at the schools of art with regard to setting higher standards and systematically promoting the

training of highly talented people for music, the theatre, film art, entertainment and other fields of art.

The Role of the Sciences of Culture and Art and of Criticism

Considerable progress in literary and art criticism and in the scientific study of art is necessary for the implementation of our greater cultural policy tasks after the Eighth Congress. In the sciences of culture and art many things have been set in motion and in some fields marked progress has been made.

Through increased joint work on central research projects largely concurring opinions on important basic questions could be elaborated in the research on the sciences of culture and art. Among institutes and scientists a good sober climate and an atmosphere of creative discussion came into being. Cooperation with research on culture and art in the Soviet Union has reached a higher level. Both individual scholars and whole institutes have permanent research contacts. In the near future cooperation in the sciences of culture and art between the USSR and GDR will be carried out on an even more solid basis.

Multilateral cooperation in the science of art with other Socialist countries has already begun. "Kolloquium 72", held at the Academy of Sciences, showed that new possibilities of mutual enrichment can be opened up through these creative relations.

Many scholars increased their effectiveness in public. This became evident in a considerable rise of the level and reputation of the journal Weimarer Beiträge which developed from a narrowly restricted special organ to the leading journal of the sciences of culture and art in the GDR.

Criticism and science bear a great responsibility for aesthetic training and cultural education and thus also for the intellectual climate in which our Socialist literature and art grows. There must be an increasing activity to unmask the reactionary character of imperialist mass culture and modernistic schools of art, in the struggle against the various kinds of unMarxist conceptions of literature and art, against rightwing and leftwing opportunistic aesthetic conceptions.

The decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU on literary and art criticism triggered off a lively discussion about the tasks of art and literary criticism as well as about shortcomings in this field with us, too, of course. But it is neither sufficient only to criticize critics nor only to make demands on them. Together with the artists' associations, the Association of Journalists and the Ministry of Culture, the Council of the Sciences of Culture and Art at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the SED which has been coordinating research work in this field for some years should elaborate a program on how critics can be qualified systematically, new talented critics can be won and trained. The critics of our literature and art need a deep insight into concrete creative problems of art, they must maintain especially close relations with readers and spectators to know their needs and opinions well.

It is not my task to comment on individual works. The point is that by means of available works the press, especially the technical journals, the associations and the Academy of Arts thoroughly discuss the various ideological and specifically aesthetic problems of our art development on a high level, discuss the pros and cons in a comradely and partisan way. It can only be useful to analyze not only individual works, but also problems of content and style in more far-reaching connections and to contribute to their solution.

We support the proposal made by literature and art scientists to regularly work out thorough analyses of developments in literature and art together with the associations of artists and to dicuss them in the associations.

The fruitful creative climate among artists which has developed since the Eighth Congress must be steadily promoted. It will develop well if our cultural policy activity is carried out everywhere with methods and in an ideological atmosphere which stimulate and foster the work of the artistic intelligentsia. This makes it necessary to respect and understand creative work, the profession of art, talent and ability, the personality and individuality of the artist. We are glad about each of his steps forward and want to strengthen the conviction of being needed and challenged personally.

The further development of art requires more, but also far more high-quality, competent and comradely-critical discussions about

works of art and artistic problems and tendencies of development. Neither excessive praise of a good intention nor unfounded rejection are encouraging. We are in favour of a wide public discussion about artistic achievements leading to well founded evaluations. Their elaboration will be more and more a matter of public critical discussions. Judgements on works of art should thoroughly investigate successes and discover reasons for failures. It also must be taken into account that creations by different artists are received differently in accordance with the development, experience of life and world of feelings as well as the educational level of the indivudual.

The exchange of ideas on literature and art has already become more lively and consequently more interesting recently. There were hot disputes on some works of art and statements of problems by artists. This can only be conducive to the further elaboration of our principles and points of view. Of course, we do not give any room to enemy activity. In a discussion we proceed from the assumption that this is a controversy on a common Socialist basis, that is, an argument among like-minded people with common goals. This presupposes respect for the discussion partner and necessitates that all concerned strive for a high scientific, philosophical and aesthetical level in polemics. If both artists and scientists make the international Socialist experience of art, especially the best achievements of contemporary Soviet art and the ideological results of Soviet discussions their own and take a more active part in the struggle against imperialist ideology and culture, this will promote an atmosphere of community in creative work and struggles.

III. Cultivation of Cultural Traditions

Dear Comrades,
On the tested road of Marxist-Leninist cultural policy we have achieved important results in the development of the way of life and the Socialist consciousness of the working people of our country. After the liberation from fascism by the glorious Soviet Army, when we began to clear away the rubble left by fascist German imperia-

lism, Lessing's "Nathan the Wise", Goethe's "Faust", Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and works of anti-fascist German as well as Russian and Soviet art and literature accompanied our new society on its first steps. The humanistic and revolutionary heritage of our people and world culture, above all Soviet culture and art, have been an integral part of intellectual life in our republic since then.

At the Third Congress of the Komsomol in 1920 Lenin pointed out that the construction of Socialist and Communist society needed continuous striving for acquiring that sum of knowledge the result of which is Communism. Lenin said: "You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind." (V. I. Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 286 and 287). Lenin taught time and again that a Socialist culture cannot be invented, that it is created through the "development of the best examples, traditions and results of the culture passed on by history, through their development from the point of view of Marxist ideology and the living and working conditions of the working class which exercises political power." (V. I. Lenin, First Draft of a Resolution on Proletarian Culture, in: Lenin, Über Kultur und Kunst, Berlin, 1960, p. 373—in German).

Our Eighth Party Congress again affirmed that our Socialist culture in the GDR keeps alive the great progressive cultural achievements of the past and continues them in the spirit of Socialism. Socialist society is the only legitimate heir to all progressive historic achievements and traditions, to all aspirations for an existence worthy of man.

In the GDR a lot is already being done to make the great heritage of culture and art a firm possession of the working class and all working people.

As a result of our successes in the cultivation and acquisition of the cultural heritage and heritage of art the imperialist ideologists in the FRG are increasingly forced to change their former attitude to the cultural heritage. They try to take up the struggle for the best cultural traditions of the German people and to make claims on these traditions—of course by means of all conceivable falsifications. The sciences of culture and art in the FRG are now "discovering" the great traditions of the proletarian revolutionary German and international art and literature.

But the cultural and artistic traditions of humanism, especially the revolutionary working-class movement, the struggle agair imperialism and fascism and for the shaping of a new Social society up to the present time have been our very own cause. Th rich tradition is spirit of our spirit, blood of our blood. This mak it binding on us to make this heritage a living possession of t people to an even greater extent, to increase its Socialist impa The continuous acquisition of important works of art which a ecidence of the greatness of this struggle, the cultivation of cultural traditions of the struggle of the workers and broad mass of the people for better living conditions, for democracy andSoci lism, of the intellectual testimonies of the development of Sociali and Marxist-Leninist thinking—that is a concern extremely dear us. We also think that the time has come to prepare the constructic of research and memorial centres of Socialist German literature an art in Berlin, capital of the GDR.

The revolutionary German working-class movement ar Socialism in the GDR furnished ample proof that it is they whic preserve the wealth of progressive German culture of the past, kee it alive in the people and enrich it by new achievements. In th respect we firmly advocate the Leninist "principle of internati nalism and uncompromising struggle against the contamination the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism, even in its most refine kind". (V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question" Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 27). This attitude makes GDR cultur open to the rich and manifold cultural achievements of all peoples especially to those values coming into existence within ou community of free Socialist nations.

Intellectually and culturally we continue the international an internationalist tradition of the revolutionary working-clas movement. The whole heritage of proletarian revolutionary an Socialist art of the working-class throughout the world, includin our own proletarian revolutionary heritage, must therefore be give a permanent and important place in our intellectual and cultura life—in the range of books offers and theatre programs, on radio an television, in the press, at exhibitions, etc. We think it desirable tha the great revolutionary struggles, from the Peasants' War to th anti-fascist resistance movement, find their expression in importan

works of art of literature, pictorial art, theatre and film. It is just as important that the experience and knowledge gathered by important leaders of the international working-class movement and great Marxist thinkers such as Plekhanov, Lunacharsky or Vorovsky, Mehring or Clara Zetkin, Blagoev or Georgi Dimitrov, Paul Lafargue or Julian Marchlewski, Julius Fučik or Ralph Fox—to mention only some names of many—become permanent sources of enrichment of our Marxist-Leninist thinking. Especially the contact of youth with these important intellectual traditions of our revolutionary movement, which are an inexhaustible source of knowledge, of cognition and creative impulses, is very important. It conveys to them the basic experience of being at home mentally in a great, rich, interesting, many-sided intellectual and cultural world of international Socialism and the international revolutionary movement. A deeper penetration into the culture of other peoples, their customs and habits, into the life of the people, contributes to a more profound and concrete understanding of the historically new and important in the Socialist community of nations, strengthens the consciousness of our citizens in the struggle against nationalism and anti-Communism.

Our cultural life is largely determined by the traditions of humanist and democratic culture from all over the world. We highly appreciate those books, films, stage-plays, sculptures by artists in other countries which reflect and shape manifestations of the world revolutionary process and solidarity in the struggle for peace, human dignity, democracy and social progress from a progressive point of view—though not yet a Marxist-Leninist one—which help to unmask the true character and the decay of imperialism in their own way.

We are concerned about the entirety of humanistic and progressive cultural traditions. To put it in Lenin's words, we do not guard the national heritage like keepers of public records guard old files. It is a question of living dissemination. It is our duty to make a still better and continuous use of the ideas of the great thinkers of the past, the literary and artistic heritage in its great variety.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism point out the critical acquisition of the heritage. This does not mean in any case a more restricted selection of and access to the heritage. Critical acquisition means

above all to comprehend the great artistic achievements of former social epochs in their social conditions and thus in their partial contradictions. Only such a view makes understandable the original freshness and liveliness of these achievements, the future-oriented character of their concept of man. It keeps us from regarding the heritage as an object of solemnity and devotion only.

On the other hand we are strongly opposed to a nihilistic attitude to the cultural heritage, to the deformations and defamations of the great humanitarian ideals as well as to tendencies of false idealization of the heritage, the glorification of even backward, Philistine features. One cannot ignore the fact that our present-day Socialist course is more than the mere implementation of great humanitarian ideals and utopias of the past. In the long run a lively, passionate participation in the shaping of the present and future is, however, impossible without the knowledge and experience of history. What Socialism is and means for people will only be understandable in a profound and durable way to those who live with the experience and testimonies of history, too.

The International Weight of Socialist Culture

While the relation of forces is further changing throughout the world the successes of culture in Socialism are increasingly gaining in importance. They reinforce the impact of Socialism. When all the wonders of technology, all the achievements of culture are the common property of the people, then Lenin said, "can and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation". (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 26, pp. 481–482).

In our part of the world the power of the working class has solved the social contradiction which keeps cultural development on the basis of capitalism and imperialism in a deep crisis. It has created a new culture which helps to form new people able to master social development. It is a culture which combines into a unitary process the progress of all intellectual and cultural, scientific and artistic forces and the growth in the wellbeing and happiness of the people. This is of extremely great importance in the controversy between

Socialism and imperialism. This requires more than ever before all the international power and impact of Socialist culture.

Just as in all fields of social life we proceed from the consolidation of the GDR and the world Socialist system, from the interests of the international working class and the working people of all nations in the development of Socialist culture. We respect the peculiarities of the different national developments of culture and all cultural achievements in human history which helped the working people to solve their historic task. Socialist internationalism and Socialist patriotism as an inseparable unity are determining factors of the cultural and intellectual life in our republic. During the over 130 years of its history the Socialist movement has honorably passed many historic trials of very hard intellectual struggle against streams of bourgeois ideology such as chauvinism, nationalism, and racial hatred.

The Socialist culture of the GDR occupies a firm place in the cultural development of the Socialist countries. We consider it one of our most important cultural tasks actively to promote the mutual approach and fertilization of Socialist cultures. This is an objective law of intellectual and cultural development in the Socialist community. It clearly shows the historically important social development characterized by L. I. Brezhnev at the 24th Congress of the CPSU by the words, "that the world system of Socialism will become a harmonious family of peoples... which people throughout the world regard as the model of a future worldwide community of free peoples". (Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, speech by Leonid I. Brezhnev, APN Publishing House, Moscow–Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1971, pp. 20–21–in German)

Culture and art are becoming ever more important in the strengthening of the sense of solidarity, friendship and fraternity among our citizens, in encouraging and strengthening their thinking and feeling in terms of the whole Socialist community and a corresponding behaviour. Above all the knowledge of the history and contemporary Soviet culture and art–of the wealth of its literature, film-art, music, painting, its great theatrical art–was and is a source of intellectual and moral strength, a great artistic treat which helps to form and steel Socialist convictions. In this sense we want to prepare and celebrate the 50th anniversary of the

foundation of the USSR, this important festival of the Socialist world, with many initiatives and a great wealth of ideas.

There are still many treasures of Soviet art and culture which must be discovered, become part of the intellectual life of our people and must have their permanent place there. Works of literature, pictorial art, film and theatre of the Soviet Union which many people have already made their own, such as "The Mother", "The Battleship Potemkin", "How the Steel Was Tempered", "Optimistic Tragedy" and many others can only be fully appreciated if they are appropriated by the people, especially the youth, ever anew. The intellectual and cultural contact with the Soviet Union should include to a far greater extent the discovery and intellectual acquisition of the greatness and beauty of the internationally important democratic and revolutionary artistic heritage, especially of the Russian people.

This will open to the German-Soviet Friendship Society which has developed so successfully in the 25 years of its existence, a wide field of activities. It began work as the "Society for the Study of the Culture of the Soviet Union" at that time and continues this work on a larger scale now.

On the basis of the close friendship among and the common interests of our Socialist countries the exchange of the best cultural achievements has become a matter of course. Just as in other fields cooperation among our parties on cultural policy questions is being extended too. Cultural relations among the countries are developing well and in a promising way. We especially welcome the conferences of the ministers of culture, the ministers of higher education and the ministers of education of European Socialist countries. Direct friendly relations between artistic and cultural establishments in our countries are a great contribution to closer cooperation. Our party supports initiatives for discussions about common creative problems between artists and their associations.

We are striving for an extension of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the USSR and the other Socialist countries as a result of which long-term planning and concentration could lead to a higher cultural policy and economic effectiveness. We consider it especially important to draw up long-term programs of cooperation in the fields of film, television, publishing and entertainment.

Many beautiful and interesting things must still be done to satisfy the rapidly increasing need of our citizens to become much better acquainted with the history and thousand-year-old culture of the Polish People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as well as with the history and culture of the other Socialist brother countries. By making extensive use of all possibilities of travelling without passports and visas direct relations between cultural and artistic establishments should be extended and deepened.

The closer cooperation among our Socialist countries also opens up new possibilities of further development of the exchange of culture between countries with different social orders.

Special attention must be given to relations with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which have freed themselves from national oppression. The GDR trains many specialists and students from these countries and sends experts to those countries and fosters mutual cultural relations.

The Struggle Between Socialism and Imperialism in the Sphere of Culture

The all-round strengthening of Socialism has forced imperialism to give up some untenable positions and to accept our challenge for peaceful coexistence, for peaceful competition between the different social orders.

Imperialism adapts itself to the new conditions of class struggle and unfolds many initiatives to modify its anticommunist strategy and tactics. It endeavours to make use of the developing new possibilities of international and interstate cooperation for the intended ideological subversion of the Socialist countries. These intentions range from attempted "incorporation" to the gross defamation of important artistic achievements of the GDR and the other Socialist countries. Subversion in the field of culture has become an important form of anti-communism in the present period.

As in other fields of ideology there is a battle for influencing the minds of the people in the field of culture, too. The attraction of Socialism is increasing steadily. This leads to the sharpening of all

contradictions of imperialism. It can no longer offer a perspective to man. The general crisis of capitalism is not only deepening politically and economically at present. It is at the same time a crisis of all aspects of life, of morality and culture.

The fact that imperialism is decaying, dying capitalism is especially evident in imperialist mass culture. The inhuman character of the mass culture of imperialism is closely connected with the anti-humanist way of life resulting from capitalist exploitation. It results from the dominant political educational and cultural conceptions of imperialism and the far-reaching subordination of cultural production in the mass media to the antidemocratic class interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. These are the true social causes of the anti-cultural character, of the decay of the image of man in the present tendencies of imperialist mass culture. The glorification of brutality and crime as "normal", "daily" occurrences "belonging to life" is the main content of this so-called mass culture. It is permeated by a deep disdain for the people and reactionary features. We shall therefore have to conduct a continuous resolute, consistent struggle against imperialist mass culture.

Together with various forms of reformism, especially revisionism makes efforts to infiltrate Socialism from within and to disintegrate it. It is common knowledge that the revisionist conception denies that the general laws of the construction of Socialism are valid for all countries, negates the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and the ideology of the working class and claims that there is a contradiction between democracy and existing Socialism. In the field of culture revisionism is directed against the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, against the principles of the partisan character and popularity of Socialist art and literature, against their constructive role in Socialist society.

The complete intellectual, political and moral bankruptcy of protagonists of modern revisionism, such as Fischer and Garaudy, shows the hopelessness of its efforts. Nevertheless we have to be constantly on guard against all revisionist conceptions.

The ruling circles in the FRG pursue the nationalistic policy of "continuation of the unity of the German nation" vis-à-vis the GDR. The bourgeois thesis of a unitary "cultural nation" plays an important part in this. As the existence of two states with different

social orders can no longer be denied by anybody the assertion of an allegedly historically founded and continuing "unity of German culture" refuted long ago is still being proclaimed.

History shows there has never been a unitary German culture outside the interests of classes. In the 19th century the German bourgeoisie betrayed the great aims of a bourgeois-democratic revolution and consequently the spirit and ideas of bourgeois-democratic culture to the Prussian Junkers. Since then the revolutionary working class has increasingly proved to be the only power to defend all democratic and Socialist cultural achievements and cultural aspirations of German history against imperialist cultural policy. A German cultural history since the reactionary foundation of the Reich from the top by Bismarck could only be written as a history of the hard class struggle between the ruling culture of the imperialist regime and the democratic and Socialist culture of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement under the leadership of the German working class. We do not have to mention "culture" in the reactionary "Greater German" Reich of Hitler. It brought the throw-back to the darkest times of the Middle Ages, the inquisition.

After 1945, under the conditions of the occupation zones, class struggles in culture sharpened. With the help of the Soviet Union we set out at once to build up an anti-fascist democratic culture. In the western zones democratic forces were also in this direction. Under the demagogic slogan "Freedom and Democracy", all newly-founded parties of reviving German imperialism unleashed, however, unprecedented hatred and persecution of all democratic and Socialist cultural efforts with the active support and participation of the rightwing leadership of the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) in the western zones and later in the FRG. The great international literary achievements of Johannes R. Becher, Bertolt Brecht, Lion Feuchtwanger and Arnold Zweig, of Heinrich and Thomas Mann and many others could not become a source of cultural creative work in the FRG. After the foundation of two states and their opposing social systems the opposing character of culture in the GDR and the FRG also fully developed. Socialist culture in the GDR unfolds as a culture of the working class and its allied classes and sections of the people. In contrast to this an imperialist,

anti-democratic culture of decay prevails in the FRG. Thus two cultures confront each other today which are antagonistic in their content and class character.

We do not overlook, however, the progressive humanist creative work of important artists in the capitalist countries, including the FRG. At all times, during the French Revolution, the Revolution of 1848–49, in the struggle against fascism writers and artists scored outstanding achievements on the side of the progressive and revolutionary forces of the people.

The changes in the relation of forces between Socialism and imperialism as well as the rise of the anti-imperialist movement also increase the number of democratic and Socialist elements in the culture of the imperialist countries. In all fields forces are becoming active which want to give expression to a humanistic and democratic concern in their work.

We must clearly distinguish between the products of the capitalist cultural industry which directly serve imperialism and those artistic efforts which give expression to humanistic and democratic positions, but also to still hazy wishes, ideas, demands for peace, the relaxation of tension, social security. We also have to distinguish clearly between the conscious originators of pseudo-revolutionary, leftist radical, anarchist and Maoist conceptions which give imperialism a pretext for its antidemocratic measures all too often and those who are honourably on the way to anti-imperialist positions.

On the basis of proletarian internationalism, international solidarity in the struggle for peace, democracy and progress we want to do everything in our power to strengthen our relations with the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the cultural workers in the imperialist countries.

Our republic is active in some 200 non-state international organizations in the field of culture and science. Representatives of the GDR have been given responsible functions in some of these organizations. In 1971 alone our republic acted as host to 17 international congresses of these organizations. The GDR has cultural relations, agreed upon in state treaties, with 29 countries. In addition 163 interstate agreements for individual cultural fields are successfully being implemented at present. In 1971 over 530 groups of artists and nearly 2,300 soloists from various contries gave

guest performances in our republic while 78 ensembles and over 1,200 soloists from the GDR performed in more than 40 countries.

Last year about 35 cultural events organized by the GDR could be visited throughout the world daily. In May and June this year GDR ensembles gave highly successful guest performances: the Berliner Ensemble in Paris, the Volksbühne in Milan, Florence, Genoa and Turin, the Komische Oper in Vienna and the Deutsche Staatsoper in Lausanne.

The GDR is a culturally recognized facotor in the international arena, too. The facts prove it. This supports our emphatic demand for membership of the GDR in cultural and humanitarian organizations such as the UN and the UNESCO, on a basis of equality, which has been torpedoed above all by the machinations of imperialist politicians in the FRG.

Together with the USSR and the other Socialist countries we shall do everything possible in the future, too, to increase the impact of Socialist culture and art. This will be done in a sharp ideological class struggle. As a result of increased cooperation in international bodies and organizations, the development of relations on the basis of interstate treaties and agreements, the cultural achievements and the works of art of the Socialist and capitalist world directly confront each other. The struggle against imperialist culture will therefore become harder and more complicated. It is all the more necessary to develop cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Socialist community.

IV. The Higher Responsibility of Leading Bodies for the Development of Socialist Culture and Art

Dear Comrades,

Our party has always considered the development of culture as "part of the general proletarian cause" (Lenin) and constantly tries to combine economics, politics, ideology and culture in a unitary process of social progress. The experience gathered by our brother parties–above all the CPSU–and ourselves in the implementation of the Socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture shows

that in the cultural field, too, no fundamental problem can be solved without raising the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

The goal-oriented activity of our party ensures the harmonious development of all spheres of life of our Socialist society. This explains at the same time the high demands on the style of work we have to fulfil to an increasing extent. The style of work of all leading bodies of the party, the state and social organizations must be characterized by matter-of-factness and competency, an understanding attitude to artists and the arts, circumspect promotion of all talents. It must combine a principled attitude with sensitiveness for the many-layered and complicated cultural and artistic processes guaranteeing a climate conducive to the further flourishing of art and culture.

The collectiveness of work, the exchange of opinions, the elaboration of a joint point of view, patient persuasive activity and constant ideological clarification are and will be the most important methods of guiding culture and art. The understanding and principled clarification of new problems, patient counseling and persuasion, that is ideological activity, is the essence of guidance of the sector of culture. The guidance of cultural processes has nothing in common with bureaucratic regimentation and soulless administration.

In the last analysis the successful implementation of our cultural policy will depend on how our party organizations in the artists' associations, in the cultural and artistic establishments, in the enterprises of industry and agriculture, in the establishments of science and education, in the state organs and in the residential areas solve their tasks. Everywhere the basic line should be understood and carried out that culture and art are an indispensable part of our life and thus also a firm part of leadership activity.

Since the Eighth Party Congress most county and many district executive committees have regularly taken their stand on the development of intellectual and cultural life and have carried out more systematic talks with artistic workers. The Secretariat of the Dresden County Committee evaluated experience gathered by the regional Committee of the CPSU in Leningrad and decided measures for the improvement of ideological activity to familiarize

artists with important problems of social life. The First Secretary of the County Committee and other secretaries discuss regularly problems of social development with writers and artists. With the direct cooperation of several hundred cultural officials and cultural workers and workers from industry and agriculture a guidance plan for the development of culture in the next few years is being worked out at present. This style of work stimulates the district committees and basic organizations of the party, state managers, mass organizations, artists' associations, cultural and artistic establishments.

In their leadership activity county and district committees should help the leading bodies of the party organizations–through meetings of party activists, seminars and the exchange of experience –to fulfil responsibly and creatively the tasks for a rich cultural life on the part of all working people and the promotion of art and literature laid down in the decisions of the party. This will be carried out more successfully if we further deepen the understanding of all members of our party for the vital role of culture and art and their particularities. We welcome the fact that many members of our party seek stimulating art experiences. We should check on how to impart knowledge of culture and art systematically and more comprehensively in the party schools and within the framework of the annual party courses. Our theoretical organ Einheit and Der Neue Weg should propagate good experience and examples of the cultural activity of party organizations.

The improvement of the cultural living conditions of the working people is a concern of all bodies of the Council of Ministers, all ministries and institutions. Every state leader who has been given responsibility by our Socialist state always has to take care that increasingly better possibilities are created for intellectual and cultural life of the working people.

As an organ of the Council of Ministers the Ministry of Culture bears the greatest responsibility for the development of our culture. It must improve its work decisively. It is necessary to go over to long-term planning, to the elaboration of conceptions for longer periods to a greater extent. Such a far-sighted activity is necessary to give artists and cultural workers new impulses for their creative work, to ensure the further development of material and technical prerequisites and to determine the future network of cultural

establishments. For this long-term planning and management scientific foundations are necessary to a higher degree.

One of the most important ways of achieving this is the further concentration of forces. Together with the National Front, the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, the FDJ, the German-Soviet Friendship Society, the League of Culture, the URANIA and other social organizations conceptional plans should be elaborated every year and discussed and agreed upon by the Council of Culture of the Ministry of Culture without relieving the representatives of cultural life of their responsibility.

More than before the Ministry of Culture must initiate joint activities in the guidance of cultural work. This applies to cooperation with the ministries of education, higher education, as well as of building, trade, agriculture or other fields. It is especially a matter of strengthening cooperation with the State Radio and Television Committee of the GDR.

The most important task is and will be creative cooperation with artists. Every leader in the field of culture should consider it his noblest duty to cultivate trusting relations with artists. Further development in the field of literature makes it necessary to deepen the relationship of confidence between publishing houses and authors in an atmosphere of joint creative efforts from which accrue new impulses for the activity of authors and further publishing activity. The publishing houses are responsible for strengthening the Socialist positions of our literature so that literature fulfils its social mission and talents unfold successfully. The ideological, political and technical qualification of workers in the field of publishing, above all of readers, is an essential prerequisite for this. The advisory councils of the Ministry of Culture offer a good opportunity for continuous cooperation with artists. Unfortunately not all work as effectively as the Library Advisory Council or the Film Advisory Council. According to their experience the organized cooperation of cultural workers, their associations, the Art Workers' Union, the Academy of Arts and the League of Culture would be of special use in the preparation and implementation of decisions.

More than ever before the long-term planned and mutually well-coordinated actions of all workers in the field of culture, establishments and organizations becomes a necessity. This is

especially the responsibility of the local representative bodies of the people and their organs.

The development of these joint activities in the field of culture is connected with an intellectual process of clarification. Until now many a leader of cultural establishments in the districts, cities and communities mainly proceeded from a personal point of view in the planning and satisfaction of cultural needs. Now the point is to direct special attention to the territory of the city and district and to coordinate the forces and means of all establishments. Examples show that this contributes to a richer cultural program. Overlapping is avoided, new reserves and often room for cultural activities are opened up together. In Potsdam, for example, a better satisfaction of cultural needs is sought through the planned organized cooperation of all houses of culture. Schwerin has been successful in concentrating forces and financial means in the interest of a varied and differentiated cultural program through the gradual cooperation of the cultural establishments of the territory and making them effective in the residential areas. This is the aim of a joint program preview of all cultural establishments in Gera as well as the 1972 annual cultural program of the city of Görlitz which addresses itself to the teams and collectives of the urban and rural districts, to the residential districts, the National Front, to the tenants' organizations and village clubs to give them suggestions for their own cultural, artistic and sports projects.

As a Socialist cultural organization the League of Culture bears great responsibility for making life in Socialism increasingly cultured and satisfying and for the further strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia.

In its social position, composition and effectiveness the League of Culture should increasingly become a mass organization of all cultural workers which together with the state bodies can give important impulses to cultural life.

The Academy of Arts, the associations of cultural workers and the Art Workers' Union will best fulfil their responsibility by fostering a rich intellectual life based on the initiative of their members. We especially welcome all efforts to increase the ideological, theoretical and professional level of their members, including the struggle against revisionism and all variants of imperialist ideology. An

important part of their activity is the promotion of many contacts and close connections of artists with the working class and other working people.

An open, sober and comradely discussion, the elaboration of and discussion about attitudes to artistic tendencies of development or individual works and the encouragement of the social and artistic activity of the members should become a more decisive feature of life in the associations.

An important task of the Academy of Arts and the artists' associations is to promote talents, exert an influence on the training, employment and development of young artists. The members and executive bodies of all associations could coordinate their efforts to a greater extent in creative cooperation.

We expect the Academy of Arts and the leaderships of the artists' associations to be incorporated in important decision-making systematically and in time. As a result state managements, publishing houses, theatres, film studios, museums, radio and television will reach a higher quality of their decision-making and responsibility. Greater attention should be paid to increasing the level of the work of the party organizations of artists. Their active leading role in the associations must be further strengthened.

We have always paid and will increasingly pay special attention in the future to the further improvement of living and working conditions, the continuous development of the professional opportunities of writers and artists. In the further spreading of our Socialist art great importance must be attached to publishing activity as well as to an effective and competent trade in works of art. All state organs must make it a rule to improve—in close connection with the associations—the material and social conditions of the creative work of artists. This is also true of the solution of studio and housing problems, of the accommodation of children of artists in kindergartens or the procurement of holiday places. This could facilitate the work of artists considerably.

We are strongly opposed to any reduction of possibilities of cultural life and declare that the use of cultural means and establishments for other purposes will violate the meaning of our main task.

Even under the current five-year plan it will not be possible to

drastically improve the material and technical basis of cultural and artistic development.

What can and must be done?

1. The responsible state organs should elaborate a scientifically based long-term program on the development of the material and technical basis of our cultural life guaranteeing the maintenance, reconstruction and step-by-step extension of cultural establishments. This program will especially ensure cultural development in the new workers centres.

2. Planned investments must be carried out fully and according to schedule and ensured materially. There should be no redistributions to the disadvantage of cultural needs.

3. In new residential areas and workers' residential quarters facilities are to be created for social and joint cultural activities, such as club-rooms, libraries, etc. Such establishments must be included in the planning of complex housing construction. The rational construction and multi-purpose use with other social establishments is to be envisaged.

The cultural needs of the working people will be satisfied better if the establishments of culture, education, sports and recreation in the towns and communities work together.

4. The measures for the maintenance of value must be carried out under all circumstances. Some 2 to 2.5 per cent of the basic fund are necessary to avoid a further decline and closings. The local state organs should make concentrated use of means so that visible and considerable progress can be made in especially important objects, for example in the equipment of youth clubs, houses of culture, libraries or cinemas.

The Ministry of Culture should give special attention to creating special capacities for the cultivation and maintenance of buildings of cultural and historic importance.

5. Initiatives in the "Help beautify our towns and communities" emulation should be directed to a greater extent to the maintenance, improvement and extension of facilities for a rich cultural life. In the cultural and artistic establishments working and living conditions must be improved considerably with the help of work teams.

The economical and effective use of the material and financial funds placed at the disposal of culture from the national income

must be guaranteed everywhere. The decisive indicator of effectiveness in this field is clearly cultural political and educational effectiveness. All management and planning by state organs must start from this. The value of cultural and artistic efforts is primarily judged by how pleasing and moving works of art and varied cultural activity, recreation and relaxation make our life more satisfying and richer. All leaders and all employees of cinemas, clubs and houses of culture and everywhere in the field of culture should arrange their programs on this basis. The effectiveness of all regulations and arrangements which are in line with these tasks must constantly be examined.

Thousands of people make great efforts for the development of our culture, efforts which deserve great social recognition. Cultural officials bear an especially great responsibility for the guidance of intellectual and cultural life and the development of art and literature. We cordially thank all citizens who through their activity in club councils and village clubs, commissions, advisory councils, as cultural officials and in other honorary bodies contribute to the improvement of our cultural and artistic life for their untiring and unselfish activities. We know that they do great and responsible work.

At the same time it is necessary to demand better scientific methods, greater exactness and competency in the guidance of culture and art and to introduce measures for increasing the level of all managerial personnel. Fluctuation is great in comparison to other fields. Too little attention is paid to the systematic training of young artists. There must be better opportunities for the further qualification of cultural officials.

It is especially important that district committees and party organizations direct their attention to the selection of personnel who are entrusted with cultural tasks and functions. The preparation of comrades for cultural functions in the party apparatus and for functions in important leading bodies has not been solved, however, for quite a time. They cannot be trained by the Party School and the Institute of Social Sciences alone. Many of the officials active today were educated at the Special School of the Central Committee in Erfurt. But this school was closed over twelve years ago. There has never been an equivalent substitute for it. This has had negative

effects, we therefore propose to reestablish such a special school with an appropriate capacity.

It is, however, not only a matter of comrades who directly exercise cultural functions. The fact that cultural tasks must be solved in all fields to an increasing extent today raises the question of how we can give a necessary minimum of knowledge and experience to all leaders. We must therefore check on how training about basic cultural questions can become a firm part of curricula and measures of qualification of the various educational establishments, of the colleges and technical schools and the establishments for further education in all social fields.

Many working people are greatly interested in systematically acquiring cultural and artistic knowledge in evening classes. In many enterprises, towns and communities there is an urgent need for qualified leaders of folk-art circles. This problem could be solved effectively if several counties jointly trained such leaders in the field of folk art at a school.

The Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education should together create prerequisites so that interested working people could be given cultural and artistic knowledge to an even greater extent in adult education classes. The existing establishments of adult education, the enterprise and village academies should include more cultural questions in their curricula or envisage special courses if there is a need for it. URANIA could increase the number of lectures on cultural policy, art and literature considerably.

The DEFA studio for short films should produce educational films for these purposes and propagate good experience gathered in the guidance of cultural processes. The various newspapers and journals could also become more effective in this direction. There were interesting articles in the women's magazine Für Dich. Above all the Sonntag should be rearranged in such a way that this cultural-political paper will become the indispensable advisor of leaders, artists and working people.

The many efforts made for the education and further training of managerial personnel must be better coordinated. The stages of training ranging from basic studies for cultural officials in the districts to the county academies of culture and technical school

training at Meissen-Siebeneichen, from the central courses to studies at the universities of Leipzig and Berlin must be better coordinated. Facilities for the further training of leading cultural personnel and artists should be extended in such a way that already existing establishments, especially colleges of art, carry out special training courses or extension courses.

Dear Comrades,
All our efforts for further developing cultural life and creative artistic work are aimed at the wellbeing of the people, the interests of the working class and all working people. It is the aim of our cultural political activity to enrich the life of the people intellectually, to make their daily life ever more satisfying and to enable all citizens to live a meaningful life. If we work in this direction culture will really be the "second heartbeat of our life" as Hans Marchwitza said.

Publishing House Verlag Zeit im Bild, GDR–801 Dresden, Julian-Grimau-Allee
Printed in the German Democratic Republic
by Grafischer Grossbetrieb Völkerfreundschaft Dresden
2253–2